1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

Relatives by Affinity. — A man cannot marry the following relatives by affinity: (1) stepmother; (2) sister of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two sisters); (3) cousin of living wife (i. e., simultaneously two cousins); (4) younger brother's widow; (5) deceased wife's elder sister; (6) nephew's widow; (7) sister of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two sisters); (8) cousin of brother's wife (i. e., two brothers cannot marry two cousins); (9) simultaneously an aunt and her niece; (10) two brothers cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (11) two male cousins cannot marry, one an aunt, and the other her niece; (12) an uncle and nephew cannot marry two sisters, two cousins, or two women of whom one is an aunt and the other her niece; (13) a step-daughter.

The aversion to cohabitation between relatives in the first two degrees of blood-relationship — such as the cohabitation with a mother, daughter, or sister, which, with very rare exceptions, we find among the most primitive tribes — hardly requires explanation. As regards the prohibition of marriages among the other above-mentioned relatives, the Koryak replied to my questions on this point, that relatives of the categories mentioned would die soon if they should enter into cohabitation with one another. Unfortunately this answer gives no clew to the above-mentioned taboos. However, certain marital taboos between relatives by affinity are, as we shall see later, closely connected with the peculiarities of the Koryak levirate.

Krasheninnikoff states that among the Kamchadal "the forbidden kinds of marriage are with one's own mother and daughter only; while marriages between step-son and step-mother, step-father and step-daughter, and between cousins, are permissible."[1]

Steller says[2] that if a Kamchadal married a widow who had a daughter, he lived with both as his wives. According to him, the Kamchadal allowed a man to marry his step-mother, or to have two sisters for wives simultaneously. It seems to me hardly credible that the Kamchadal should differ so sharply in their marriage-taboos from the modern Koryak. It is regrettable that what has been said by Steller and Krasheninnikoff cannot now be verified, since the modern Kamchadal, having become Christians and been completely Russianized, observe the rules of the Orthodox Catholic Church in the matter of marriages, as far as their formal side is concerned. However, Krasheninnikoff asserts even, with reference to the Reindeer Koryak, that they used to marry cousins, aunts, and step-mothers.[3] It is hard to admit that in the brief period (about a hundred and fifty years) which has elapsed since Krasheninnikoff's time, the marriage-laws of the Koryak should have changed to such an extent.

It must nevertheless be added, that, if we are to judge from the myths,

[1] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 169. [2] See Steller, p. 347. [3] See Krasheninnikoff, II, p. 221.

1: Jochelson E-5 (1900-01) 1908 RY4 Koryak RY4

must seek brides in different families, and daughters must be married into different families. Only in the case of the death of a married son or of a married daughter of one family or the other is a second marriage, through levirate, possible. 582 587

Of course, if the nature of the Koryak levirate has for its purpose the strengthening of family alliances, it may be asked why a widower cannot marry his deceased wife's elder sister, or why a widow cannot become the wife of her deceased husband's elder brother. I have put the question, but to my regret I have received no satisfactory answer from the Koryak. Personally I think that in this case the legal position of the elder brother in the family supersedes the considerations of blood-relationship. When father or mother die or become too old, the eldest brother and eldest sister take their places. By force of this position, sexual intercourse of the eldest brother (who enjoys the right of agnate) with his sister-in-law, or of the eldest sister with her brother-in-law, seems to be imagined to be the same kind of incest as the cohabitation of a father with his daughter-in-law or of a mother with her son-in-law. 587 835

I will add here a few details illustrating the application of the levirate in the every-day life of the modern Koryak. From these it appears that in several places this custom is coming to lose vigor and to assume the form of a right instead of involving an obligation. Attention must also be drawn to the subjection of woman in this custom. In Kamenskoye I was told that a younger brother may marry his eldest brother's widow, or a widower the younger sister of his deceased wife, while in other places they must do it. On the other hand, if disinclined, the relatives may not give a widow or deceased wife's younger sister to her brother-in-law in marriage. From this it is evident that in Kamenskoye the custom leaves to either side, if such be desired, the choice of not renewing the family union by a new marriage. 587

But if the nearest relatives of a woman have died, and she has thus lost her natural protectors, the widower or brother-in-law can enforce the observance of the levirate against her will. However, men rarely make use of this right. Shortly before my arrival, an elder in Kamenskoye (Opilli by name) had lost his wife and eldest brother. The wife of the latter, with her children, went to his home to live; but when asked whether he had married her, he answered that as yet she was not ready to do so. I know of another case from the village Kamenskoye, where a Koryak, married to a young woman, received into his house two old widows, the wives of his deceased elder brother, but he did not live with them because they were too old. [736]

I met with a similar case on the Paren River. A Koryak, Ewpicō, who had a young wife, had taken his uncle's widow into his house, but did not live with her, as she was sickly.

In his preliminary report on the Chukchee, Bogoras speaks of the exist- 000

Koryak RY4
Kamchadal RY3
Chukchee RY2

C /242 cont./

582 171 835 The Chukchee marriage norms probably were the same as among the other nationalities of the same linguistic group as the Chukchee, namely, the Kamchadal and the Koryak. Concerning the Kamchadal, we have the testimony K 582 835 of Krasheninnikov in Opisanie zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/ (II, 169) that marriages were concluded unhindered, between male and female cousins. As to the KK 582 835 C [835] Koryak, their norms were evidently /243/ under the strong influence of the Tungus peoples. Thus, while marriage to a niece was regarded as incestuous among the Chukchee, it was permitted among the Koryak. As among the Tungus, marriage simultaneously to two sisters is not allowed among them. But the basic feature of Turanian marriage -- the obKK 587 ligation of marriage within one and the same clan -- has been perpetuated in the Koryak marriage in the institution of the sororate, or, as it is called by Iokhel'son, the double levirate. KK [171] [614] [177] As is well-known, the peculiarity of this institution, widespread even on the continent of North America (Algonkin, Thompson, Skidi, Pawnee), is expressed in the obligation of the widower to marry a woman from the clan of his deceased wife -- namely, a younger sister, cousin, or niece of the deceased (the last category -- nieces -- has evidently been adopted from the Tungus). Iokhel'son explains the origin of this institution by the desire to maintain religious ties that have been established between the spouses and by an unwillingness to admit an alien element to the sacred family hearth. Such an explanation could be very easily admitted, but then it is not understandable how the first, dead wife was admitted to the sacred hearth, especially since the Koryak have no knowledge of any kind of religious rituals like the KK 589 835 above-mentioned Chukchee ritual of administering the sacrament to the wife. On the other hand, this is explained much more simply by the institution of obligatory marriage. With the obligatory cousin-marriage, sisters and female cousins of one family belonged to the brothers and male cousins of another, and naturally, when the wife of a man

KK 589 835 /243 cont./ died, he took her younger sister or cousin. The institution was not only juridical, but religious, for the spouses were bound by the ties of common blood. Iokhel'son does not say whom the Koryak generally marry. Judging by the example of the Chukchee, among whom marriages are concluded predominantly between cousins, we may state with conviction that a Koryak also generally marries his cousin (i.e., a person of common blood, which is why the wedding ceremony has no ritualism), and therefore, after her death, he follows the same ancient law and takes her sister or cousin.

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A 114 582 835 We shall now proceed to the Aleut, whom Morgan considered the intermediate link between the Asiatic and the American peoples. We do not have reliable information about their marriage norms, but what little we know is of great interest to us from the standpoint of the question we are studying, especially since those facts were related by an observer who spent a great many years among them, namely, by Veniaminov. First of all, it seems that the customary form of marriage among the Aleut was cousin marriage. /244/ Veniaminov does not relate the details, but definitely says that the most favored selection for a bride was the daughter of an uncle (1). Of even greater interest is the description

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1. Tvoreniia Innokentiia /The Works of Innokentii/, Book III, p. 322.

of polyandry among the Aleut. "A woman," writes Veniaminov," was allowed to have two husbands, of whom one was the chief one, and the second his assistant, or, as he is called by the Russians, his partner. Such a woman was not only not considered degenerate, but was even praised as efficient. The second husband, fully enjoying the rights of a husband, had to produce and, in general, strive for the support of his wife and family, just like the first husband (2). Erman (3) relates the same, but he does

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2. Ibid., 323.